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The University of Mississippi confederate cemetery: lost cause ideology, monumentation, and ritual

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The University of Mississippi Confederate Cemetery:

Lost Cause Ideology, Monumentation, and Ritual

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ABSTRACT

This work is an analysis of the University of Mississippi Confederate Cemetery. Several remote sensing surveys were conducted inside the confines of the cemetery wall in order to determine the nature of the interments. This was done in order to determine if the cemetery is the site of a mass grave as local legends indicate. Following this analysis historical research was conducted to discover the intended meaning of the cemetery. A theoretical analysis of mortuary activities as discussed by archaeologists is utilized as a means of verification regarding the ideology attached to the cemetery. The cemetery on the campus is not the site of a mass grave. The cemetery is laid in fairly typical fashion in several rows with no fewer than 432 graves indicated by the remote sensing data. Furthermore, the cemetery is the site of a local articulation of the Lost Cause as espoused by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Introduction

A cool, crisp Saturday morning in the autumn . . . leaves have turned to umber hues in the Grove at the University of Mississippi. Throngs of people have gathered around tents and awnings. Many are clothed in all the sartorial splendor of a debutant ball. Fine china and crystal grace many tables. They are gathered to cheer on the Rebels as they match-up with Mississippi State on the gridiron. Rebel flags are conspicuous among the crowd. The Rebels enter the "Walk of Fame" to the adulation of the crowd. The team marches through the Grove and proceeds to Vaught-Hemingway stadium. The throng follows the would-be conquerors, exhorting them to victory. The crowd gathers at the gates eager to witness the spectacle. Off in the distance, southward and a little to the west, barely visible in the shade of a few cedars, a brick wall and a lone obelisk stand guard atop a small hill. There seems to be a strange desolation there in the shade.

Leaving the crowd behind, and passing across several acres of parking lot toward the monument, one passes more fans heading to the game. They hurry past the enclosed yard and monument with a quick glance, eager to see the kickoff. An opening in the brick wall allows access to a neatly manicured lawn roughly sixty meters square. A path of stepping stones runs from the entrance to the base of the obelisk. The cheer of the crowd is clearly audible in the distance--kickoff. Still, there is somber atmosphere within the confines of the wall.

A bronze plaque on the monument gives the only notice that this obelisk and wall mark the presence of a cemetery. The plaque indicates that the cemetery

contains "more than seven hundred soldiers who died on the campus of the University of Mississippi when the buildings were used as a war hospital, 1862-1865." The dead are described as soldiers from at least three sources: Confederates from General Nathan Bedford Forrest's command and from the Battle of Shiloh as well as a "few Federals from Grant's Army." In lieu of individual markers, the plaque identifies some of the men interred in the cemetery. Most, however, remain unknown. The plaque lists one hundred and thirty-one names, some with regimental affiliations (see appendix). Besides this, the plaque contains only one other piece of information: the seal of the Mississippi Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The seal consists of an inner circle containing a Rebel flag and an outer circle. The words "Mississippi Division UDC," flanked by two stars appear in between the two circles in the upper portion of the seal. The bottom portion, also between the two circles, displays the Latin phrase "Deo Vindice"—God Will Vindicate.

Aside from the bronze plaque, and occasionally, four Rebel flags placed at the corners of the monument, there is little to indicate the significance of this site to the casual passerby. Few people on the campus know that the obelisk memorializes a Civil War cemetery. Fewer still know anything more specific about the place other than that it exists. One gets the impression that were it not for the throngs of people headed from parking lots to ball games the site would see few visitors save for the occasional late night tristes of students (empty beer cans are occasionally found strewn about the place). I have seen the site utilized by a group one day out of the year- Confederate Memorial Day. On this day re-

enactors gather and "set up camp" to remember the dead and their cause. It is a rather elaborate display with gray-clad, bearded men and belles in hoop skirts gathered in celebration and prayer, Confederate state flags ranged across the cemetery, a functional cannon whose reverberations set off car alarms in the nearby parking lots, and a good supply of barbeque. For the remainder of the year, the site sits solemn and empty, though well-groomed.

According to several sources (Cabaniss 1971; Johnson 1912; Sobotka 1976), the University of Mississippi served both the Union and the Confederacy as a war hospital during the years of 1862 through 1864. Nearly two thousand patients were treated at the hospital throughout the war. Of these, approximately seven hundred died and were reportedly interred in the cemetery. Unfortunately, the hospital records appear to have been lost at some point during or after the war. Perhaps they were lost when the Union forces captured Oxford in 1863. Whatever the explanation, there is a lacuna in the records regarding those treated at the University hospital and those interred in the campus cemetery.

The origins of this research lie in the confusion regarding the nature of the cemetery caused by this lack of documentation. One particularly popular interpretation of the cemetery suggests that this cemetery is a mass grave. This issue of the nature of the cemetery led to archival research. This led me to the notion that something political was still taking place in this cemetery. Once satisfied with regard to the nature of the site, the overarching question became one of intent. In other words, we sought to determine the meaning of the site, not just to describe it. So, our research underwent considerable change as we progressed

in this study. What began as a fairly straight-forward remote-sensing survey became a much broader interpretation of the meaning attached to the site. This thesis, then, is intended to offer an explanation for the particular meaning attached to the University of Mississippi Confederate Cemetery.

Social scientists have long studied mortuary practices. Such practices have commonly been interpreted in several ways. Historically, mortuary assemblages were interpreted from a materialist theoretical perspective. In other words, the grave furniture and type of interment, among other things, have been used to reconstruct the social structure of a particular group (Brown 1995:391; Dillehay 1995:10). For example, mortuary monuments may represent a huge expense of resources and energy and, hence, require management and planning. Therefore, elaborate mortuary displays may represent or may be latent manifestations of social power. More recent archaeological studies have taken on the challenge of reconstructing the ideologies of those who construct and maintain mortuary assemblages (Silverman and Small 2002). Admittedly, this is a difficult process which is often not fully achievable. However, the interpretations are greatly enhanced when some historic or ethnographic record exists that explains something of the beliefs and thought processes of those who erected the monuments.

In order to properly interpret the University Confederate Cemetery, or any other historic cemetery, for that matter, one must utilize various tools. Among these are archaeology, ethnographic analogy and historical analysis. By looking at these three related methodologies one may achieve some reasonable

explanation as to the meanings attached to the dead. In this case, I have relied on remote sensing techniques for archaeological prospecting in order to determine the nature of the interments, historical documents published by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), the work of historians who study the Lost Cause and the commemoration of the Civil War dead, and archeological works that deal with the interpretation of mortuary sites. The ubiquitous nature of such monuments in the former Confederacy indicates the persistence of those who sought to entrench the memory and ideology of the Confederacy in the New South.

Chapter 2

Remote Sensing and Ground Truthing at the University Cemetery

The Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Mississippi conducted several remote-sensing surveys inside the brick wall of the Confederate Cemetery on the university campus. These surveys were done for several reasons. Mainly, though, they were exercises in training graduate students in the science of archaeological prospecting with remote-sensing technology. Also, there was no reason to perform traditional archaeological excavations as this site is not threatened. One should bear in mind that excavation of the site would likely alter some of the conclusions presented in this work. Still, much of this work is predicated on the results of these remote-sensing surveys. Therefore, it is important to understand both how remote-sensing data are collected and how the instruments detect subsurface features. As we relied on data collected from two instruments in particular, the resistivity meter and the gradiometer, the discussion will focus on these methods of prospecting. A brief discussion of ground-truthing these images, using available historical documents, is also presented.

Remote sensing techniques are useful to archaeologists both as a means of finding sites and a means of analyzing the layout of a known site (Johnson 2006a:6; King, et al. 1993:4; Lockhart and Green 2006:19). As the location of the cemetery was known and clearly delineated on the ground, our surveys focused on methods that are useful for mapping site structure—resistivity and magnetometry (Kvamme 2006:228, Somers 2006:112). Repeated surveys of the cemetery were performed with these instruments for four primary reasons. First,

as mentioned previously, we were, as students, interested in learning how to operate each instrument correctly. Hence, there were trials and errors. Secondly, geophysical investigations allow archaeologists to "see" beneath the ground surface without excavations. In other words, they allow us to determine, with some confidence, the presence of archaeological features without the concomitant destruction of these that is an integral part of excavation (King, et al. 1993:4; Lockhart and Green 2006:19, 29). Thirdly, the two instruments of primary importance for our purposes are frequently regarded as the best instruments to detect archaeological features in a wide variety of soil conditions (Bevan 1998:7; Kvamme 2006:205; Somers 2006:110). Lastly and more importantly for our discussion, it is widely understood by those who practice geophysical prospecting for archaeological remains that more than one type of instrument should be used on a site if conditions warrant (Clay 2001; Johnson 2006a:5; Kvamme et al. 2006). The logic of multiple instrument surveys is quite concise: "Not only do different instruments detect different things, but often they see the same things differently" (Johnson 2006a:12).

Geophysical surveys using either resistivity or magnetometry require careful spatial control of the site (Kvamme 2006:214; Lockhart and Green 2006:26; Somers 2006:117). This is achieved by superimposing a grid on the site. In our surveys, we adopted the established technique of using lengths of rope and/or surveying tapes measuring twenty meters. We laid out the baseline near the south wall of the cemetery. A line was then laid running south and north along the west wall. A northern baseline was also laid down. The remaining

lines were laid out, south to north at one meter intervals. Each of the longitudinal lines was marked at fifty centimeter intervals to aid in consistent sampling. The twenty meter grid was moved north and east until the entire site had been surveyed. The grid was placed on the site only after we imposed a coordinate system using a total station. As is usual in these types of surveys, the southwest corner of the site served as the datum point. Both of the instruments used have built in data loggers that take readings at user-specified intervals. By tying the grid to a coordinate system and taking readings at particular intervals across the site it is possible to correlate each reading with a location on the site.

Aside from grid-based data collection strategies the two instruments have little in common, save that they measure specific but separate physical properties of soils (i.e., they "see" different things). The resistivity meter measures the soils' resistance to the flow of an electrical current (Somers 2006:111), while the magnetometer measures "variations of the earth's magnetic field in the near-surface" (Kvamme 2006:206). A brief discussion of how each instrument, though measuring different physical properties may "see" the same things, is necessary in order to understand the data that was gathered.

The resistivity survey was conducted using a Geoscan RM15 configured in a twin-probe array. As discussed by Clark (1996:44, 46) and Somers (2006:113), this is the primary resistivity meter and probe configuration in use in archaeology today. This instrument introduces an electrical current into the soil at specific user-specified intervals, in our case readings were taken every 0.5 meters across the site, then measured and recorded, via the data logger, the resistance of

the soil to said current at these specific locations (Somers 2006:109). The resistance of a given soil is essentially determined by soil chemistry, soil compaction, and moisture content (Johnson 2006b:312; Somers 2006:111). Basically, the current flows through water-soluble ions in the soil. The instrument detects and maps "the contrast between soil-matrix resistivity and the archaeological–feature resistivity" (Somers 2006:112). In other words, when human activity introduces foreign material into the soil matrix it frequently causes differences in soil chemistry, soil compaction, and the soil's ability to retain moisture. Hence, these locations may have different resistances to electricity than the surrounding matrix (Clark 1996:30). The RM15 measures and records these differences and allows us to plot them in planview.

The results of two resistivity survey carried out at the cemetery in 2001 and 2004, respectively, are presented below (Fig. 1, 2). The dark anomalies are interpreted as individual graves. Our interpretation is based on several factors including: the east-west orientation of these anomalies, which is the traditional orientation of Christian graves (Bevan 1991:1311; King, et al. 1993:6), their dimensions (roughly two meters long by one meter wide), and their appearance at regular intervals across the site. The square appearing in the northeast corner of the 2001 data set and roughly in the center of the 2004 data set (both at approximately 1030 N, 1030 E) is the location of the monument. The clearest correlations in the data sets are to be found between the 1030 N transect and the 1040 N transect, though others are also present.

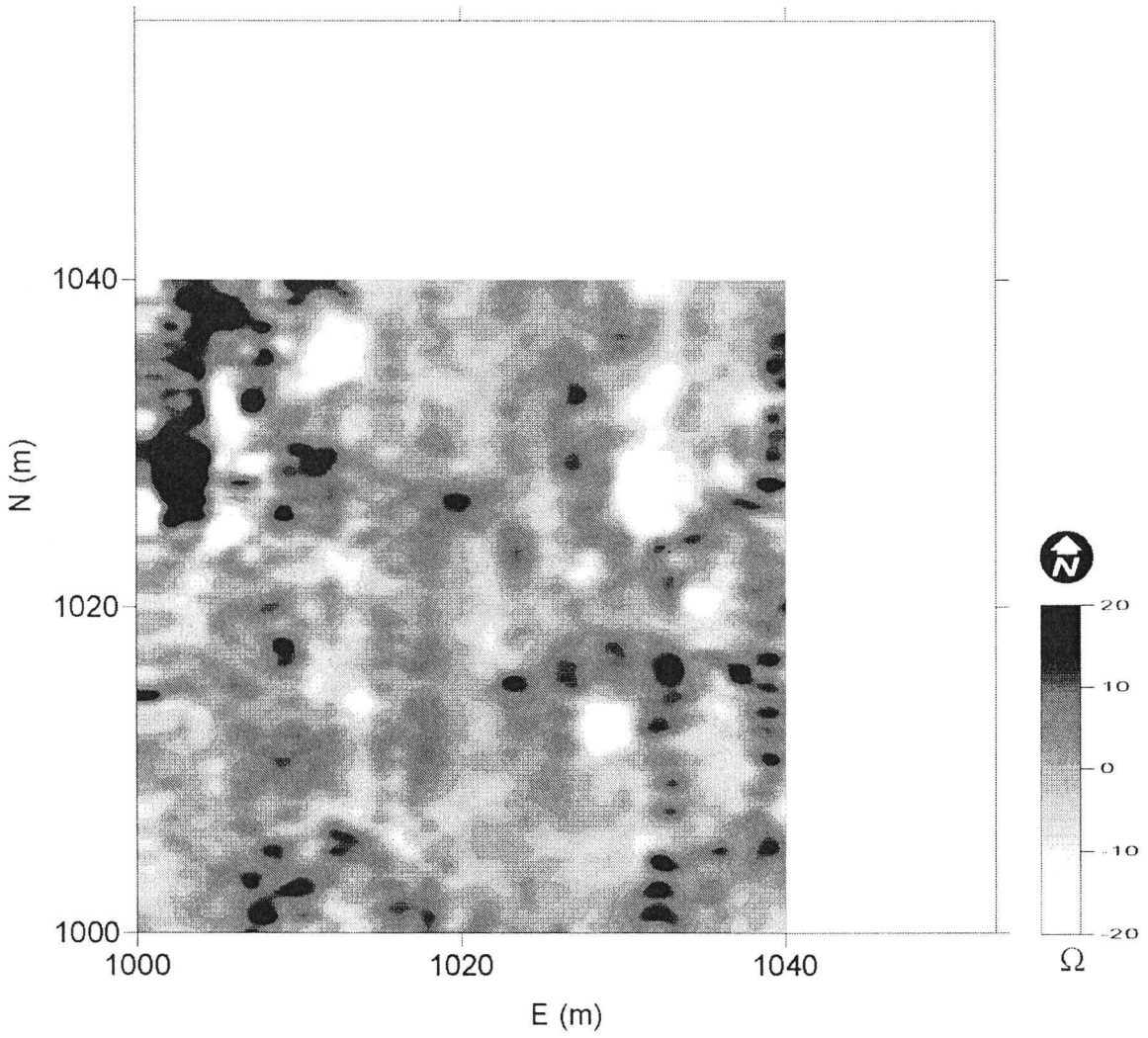

Figure 1: Resistivity planview, 2001.

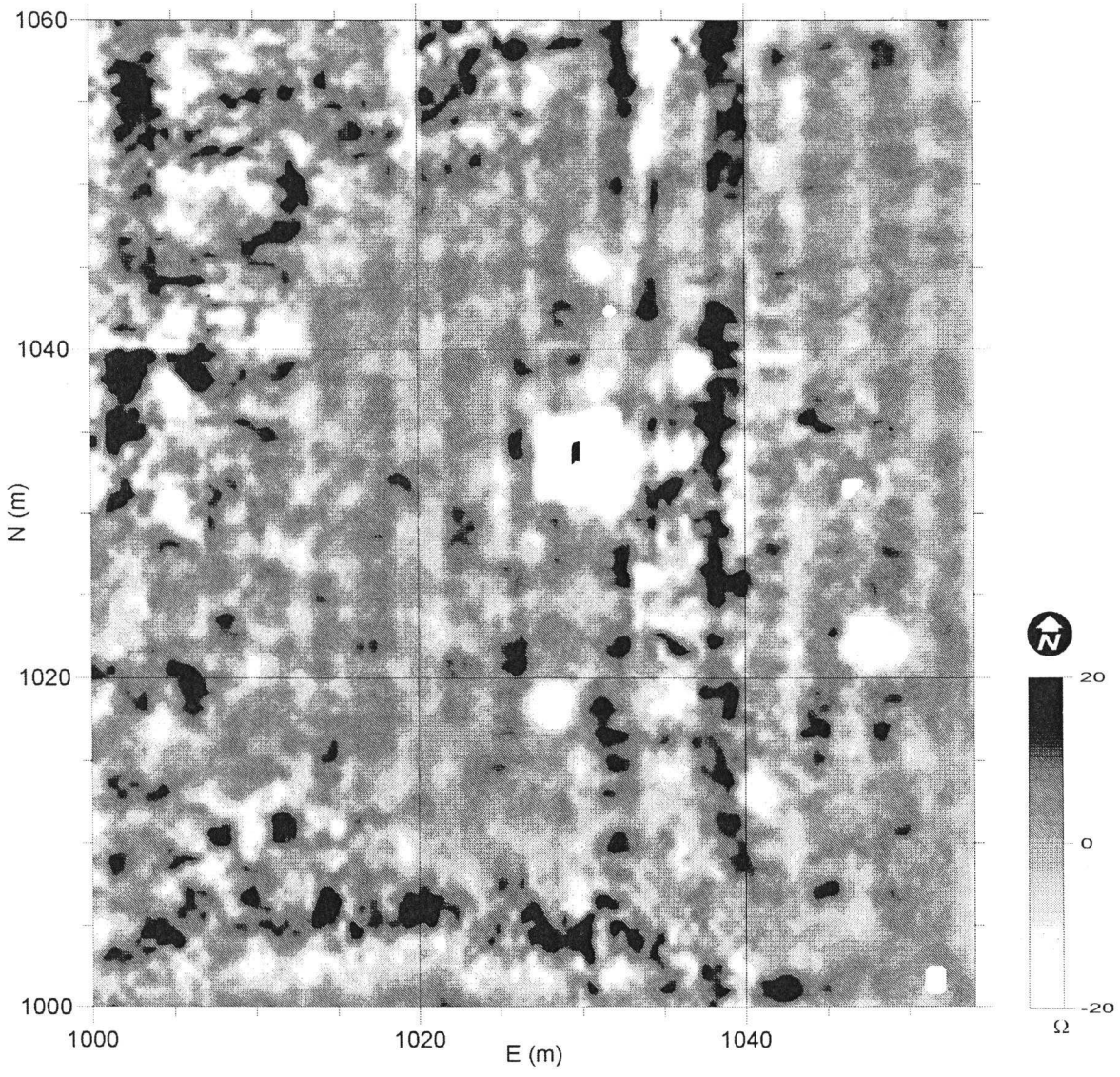

Figure 2. Resistivity planview, 2004.

Magnetometry surveys at the cemetery were conducted using the Geoscan FM 36 fluxgate gradiometer. Like the resistivity meter, this instrument measures and records the contrasts between archaeological features and the surrounding soil matrix (Kvamme 2006:206). Unlike the resistivity meter, which injects an electrical current into the soil, the gradiometer is a passive technique, measuring and recording minute differences in the earth's magnetic field at particular, user-specified intervals (Kvamme 2006:206). In our case, we calibrated the machine to take readings at 0.25 meter intervals. The whole site was surveyed several times with this instrument as well.

The gradiometer is able to detect archaeological features of various types. It is especially adept, if used competently, at detecting "topsoil-filled pits and ditch features" simply because topsoil naturally "possess a greater magnetic susceptibility than subsoil" (Kvamme 2006:207). For our purposes, however, we must understand how a graveshaft might come to have a different magnetism than its matrix. In essence, ferrous minerals have a "natural tendency . . . to accumulate in topsoils; they are relatively insoluble and remain while there may be a net loss of less magnetic materials" due to leaching (Kvamme 2006:208). The addition of organic material and the presence of particular bacteria in the soil can also alter local magnetism (Kvamme (2006:208, 214). When a graveshaft (or other intrusive feature) is dug through the topsoil and into subsoil, organic material added and the shaft refilled, topsoil and subsoil become mixed, and often the feature is discernable as a negative anomaly (a lower magnetism) than the

undisturbed A horizon around the shaft (Bevan 1991:1310-1311; Hargrave 2006:276; Johnson 2006b:312; Kvamme 2006:219).

The results of two gradiometer surveys carried out in 2001 and 2004, respectively, are presented below (Fig. 3, 4). Rows of alternating magnetic highs and lows are revealed by the gradiometer. The patterning of these anomalies is very similar to the pattern of anomalies revealed by the resistivity survey. That is to say, the anomalies have an east-west orientation, are roughly two meters long by one meter wide, and appear at fairly uniform intervals.

Multiple instrument surveys are frequently performed to locate features within a site. If more than one type of instrument detects a similar anomaly at the same location it reinforces the interpretation (Clay 2001; Hargrave 2006:276; Kvamme, et al. 2006; 251). In order to more clearly demonstrate the correlations in the above data sets a GIS overlay is presented below (Fig. 5). There are approximately 432 recognizable anomalies. Some of them appear only in one type of survey, while others are revealed by both instruments. There is also a fair amount of empty space—no anomalies detected—in the cemetery. This should not, necessarily, lead to the conclusion that no graves are present at these spots (Johnson and Haley 2006:44). There is simply insufficient contrast in physical properties at these locations to draw substantive conclusions with respect to grave site locations. Likewise, some of the anomalies may, in fact, indicate the presence of an empty grave as some of the soldiers interred here were undoubtedly removed and transported elsewhere for a more fitting burial. Though there are certainly areas in the cemetery that appear empty, further remote sensing

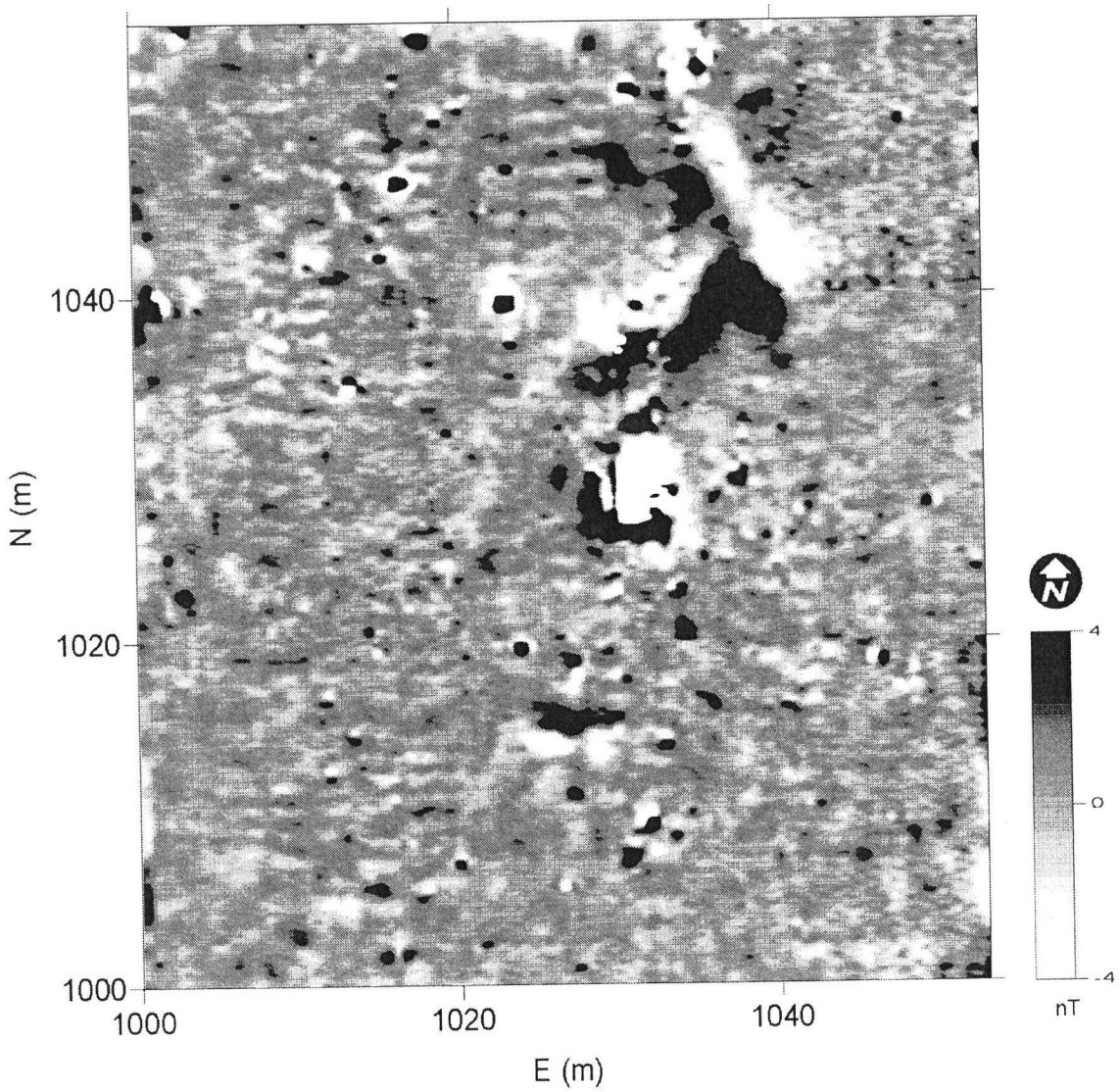

Figure 3. Gradiometer planview, 2001.

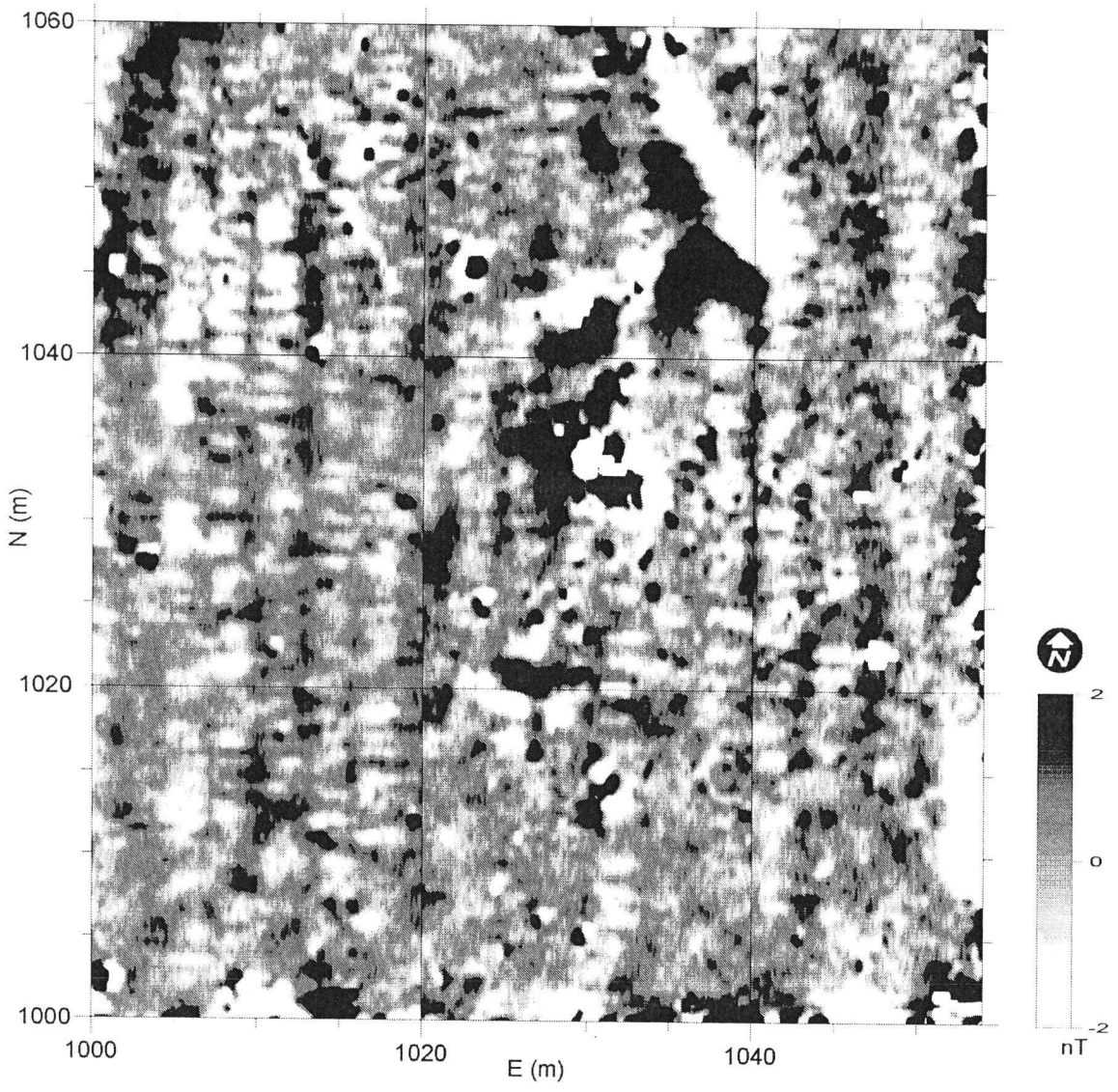

Figure 4. Gradiometer planview, 2004.

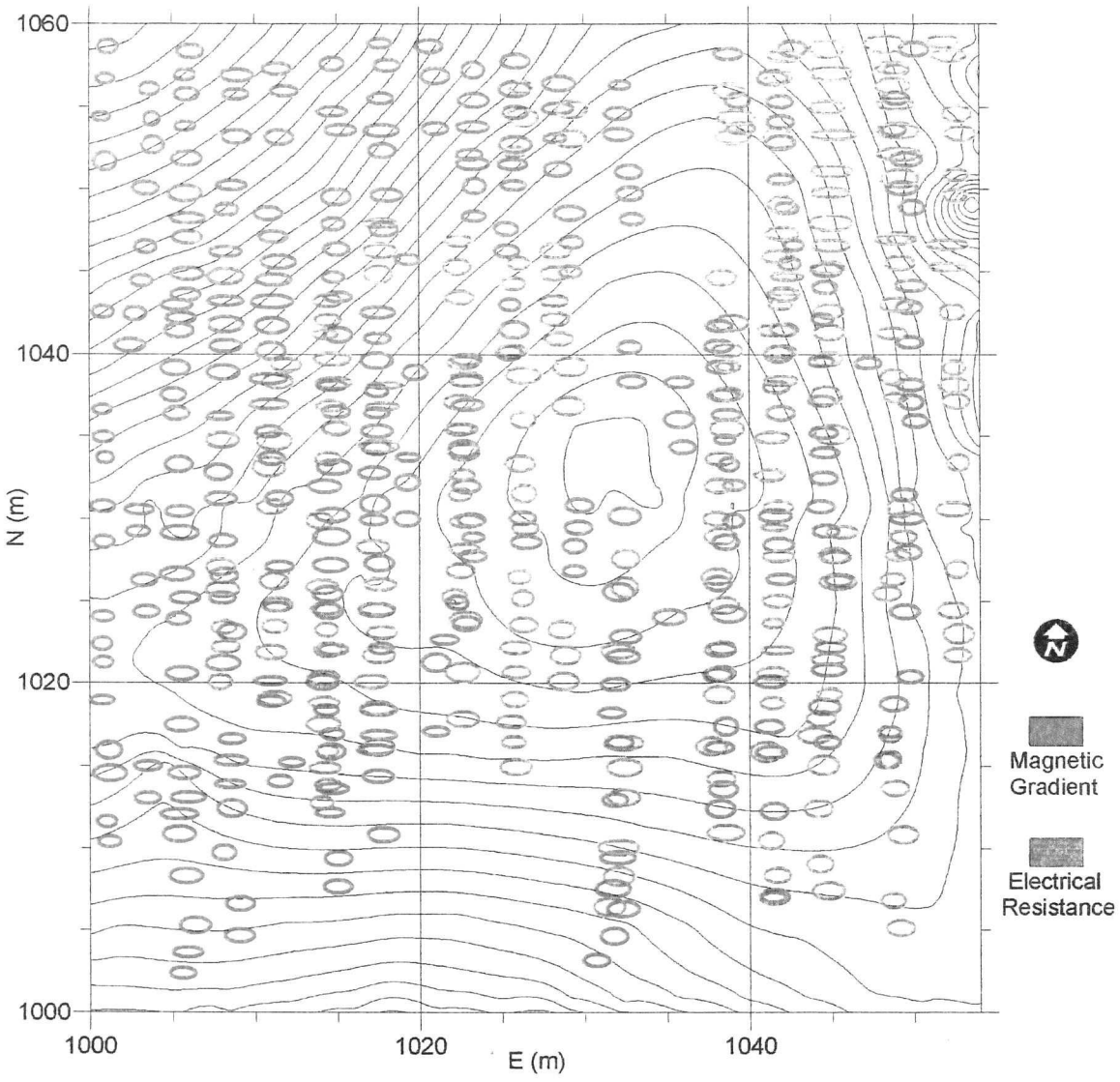

Figure 5. Topographical map of cemetery with location of observed anomalies in 2004 surveys.

surveys are required. Even then, the confidence level in this interpretation can only increase to a level of fact and certainty with excavation of the site. For the time being the remote sensing data must serve our purpose.

In order to facilitate the interpretation of geophysical surveys (a process called ground-truthing) archaeologists generally excavate at anomalous locations on a site. However, it is often the case that anomalies appear in a pattern clear enough for direct interpretation (Kvamme 2003:435-457; Kvamme 2006:206). In such cases geophysical data alone "can be suitable for the study of site structure, content and organization" (Kvamme 2006:228). Hence, "groundtruthing is not, strictly speaking, an essential component of a remote sensing study" (Hargrave 2006:299). Having said that, groundtruthing should be performed when feasible (Hargrave 2006:299). In our study there was no reason to excavate any portion of the cemetery, as it is not threatened by development. Still, we sought to groundtruth using alternative means. As suggested by Edward Bell (1997) and Hargrave (2006:270), we turned to historical documents to aid our interpretation.

The documentary evidence brought to bear in the process of interpretation often provides insight that is not available through archaeological investigation. In some cases, the researcher may identify "idealized or deliberately misleading" historical documents, if the two types of evidence (empirical and documentary) are contradictory (Bell 1997:220). Still reliance on documentary evidence introduces another level of complexity to any archaeological interpretation—how does one tell the difference between what is "idealized" and what is "deliberately misleading," for example. In our case, the documents reveal several possible

explanations as to the nature of the cemetery and the reason for the loss of the names of individual soldiers reportedly interred here. Though there is some ambiguity in the historical record regarding the nature of the interments at the cemetery, if read carefully the documents seem to reveal a fairly standard layout for a cemetery. In the 1939 minutes of the dedication of the monument that now stands in the cemetery, the UDC reported that when the numbers of dead began to accumulate rapidly ". . . they buried them in trenches like their comrades on the battlefield, with a wooden marker at *each* head" (Brown 1939:2). In the same paragraph, it is suggested that the terms "trench or grave" are to be understood as synonymous (Brown 1939:2). To add to the confusion of using these two words as synonyms, a later report regarding the cemetery refers to it simply as "that mass grave" (Austin 1978).

While the location of each interment was, reportedly, known at one time, the explanation proffered for the loss of identities is laid upon the ignorance and/or spite of groundskeepers. Jeanette Noe (1966:1-2) reports that the names and locations of individuals in the plot were lost "when a clean-up crew removed the markers and indiscriminately placed them in a pile." Caroline Ragsdale (1994), reports that "in a careless mistake . . . all of the grave markers were destroyed when workers were ordered to clean and weed the cemetery." The *Daily Mississippian* reported that "the individual grave markers that identified each of the dead soldiers were burned in later years through the carelessness of laborers cleaning the area" (Austin 1978). It should be pointed out that Ragsdale calls these grave markers "gravestones," which makes Austin's assertion difficult

to comprehend if taken literally. It bears noting, as well, that at the dedication of the monument the same explanation was given: "the markers were burned by mistake" (Brown 1939:2). In his book, *Three Years in Mississippi*, the first African-American student to integrate the University of Mississippi, James Meredith, mentions the cemetery briefly. He reports that, having hit an errant golf shot on what was once the University golf course, and subsequently losing his golf ball in the cemetery, he "noticed that there were no headstones, monuments, or other normal signs of a cemetery" (Meredith 1966:283). Upon inquiring "about this strange appearance," he was told that "a work detail of Negroes was ordered to clean up the graveyard and that was exactly what they did, without exceptions" (Meredith 1966:283).

Though the truthfulness of the assertion that African-American workers were responsible for the loss of the location of individual graves is not necessarily at issue, I have discovered what seems to be another possible explanation. One source reports that "a short while after the war closed, the ladies of the town of Oxford and the University raised funds and enclosed the soldiers' cemetery with a neat wooden fence. Forest fires destroyed this. They enclosed it again and again, but with the same result" (Brown 1939:1). Perhaps we are to infer that the repeated forest fires were caused by human agency, although this document makes no suggestion in that regard. While it is possible for repeated fires to destroy a wooden fence and not nearby wooden grave markers, it is certainly also possible that they did.

The historical documents also reveal one other piece of evidence that has bearing on the nature of the cemetery and our interpretation of the remote sensing data. The monument makes reference to the presence of Union soldiers interred in the cemetery. This is supported by reports in the *Roll of Honor* (Government Printing Office 1869:1-117) that the bodies of 11 Union soldiers were removed from Oxford, Mississippi, and 24 Union dead were removed from the "vicinity of Oxford" after the war had ended. If the bodies in question were removed from the University cemetery, this action presupposes knowledge of who was buried where in the cemetery, which seems highly unlikely had the site in fact been a mass burial. Also if they were removed from the University cemetery it is likely that the 432 anomalies interpreted as graves at least 11 of these may represent empty graves.

The documents regarding the nature of the interments in the cemetery not only reveal several possible explanations for the cause of the soldiers' lost identities, but, if carefully parsed, they also seem to indicate that the cemetery is, in fact, not the site of a "mass grave" but rather that it is laid out in typical cemetery fashion (i.e., the graves are individual and distributed in an orderly fashion across the site). So, having collected remote sensing data with several instruments and carefully reading the historical documents regarding the cemetery, it is safe to conclude that the cemetery is laid out in several north-south trending rows, with individual graves oriented in an east-west direction.

Chapter 3

The Lost Cause and the University Cemetery

The obelisk that stands in the cemetery is the only visible evidence on the surrounding landscape that the site is a cemetery. A bronze plaque on the monument contains the seal of the Mississippi Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. This plaque offers the only substantive clue as to who is responsible for the preservation of the cemetery. Hence, it is also the only clear thread of evidence relating the specific intent of this cemetery. The UDC is frequently associated with a social movement referred to as the Lost Cause. An analysis of the central tenants of the Lost Cause, combined with a discussion of several specific monuments erected by the national organization of the UDC, and the minutes of the Mississippi Division of the UDC will demonstrate that the University cemetery is the site of a local articulation of the Lost Cause.

The Lost Cause has been a topic of historical investigation since Rollin Osterweis (1973) published *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900.* In essence, Osterweis views the Lost Cause as a conservative movement meant to preserve values in the face of "the commercial, industrial civilization of the erstwhile enemy" (Osterweis 1973:152), the United States. The particular values he enumerates include "a way of life rooted in the land, centered in the family, manifested in the symbols of a traditional aristocracy which somehow represented honor, courage, orthodox religion, respect for women, noblesse oblige to inferiors, and white supremacy" (Osterweis 1973:152). Charles Wilson (1980:7) further suggests that the impetus behind the Lost Cause was an effort to overcome

defeat after the Civil War. He contends that the sting of defeat lingered in the South and "Southerners feared that the Civil War had unleashed powerful forces that would descend from the North, or perhaps even emerge indigenously, and destroy the Southern Zion they were building" (Wilson 1980:10). The status quo dear to this group became a prevailing concern, spawning "a conservative interest in the preservation of religious, political, societal, and economic orthodoxy" (Wilson 1980:9). "They used the Lost Cause to warn Southerners of their decline from past virtue . . . and to educate the young in Southern traditions." They used the Lost Cause to spearhead a revitalistic movement (Wilson 1980:11). Alan Nolan (2000:13) believes that the South was "utterly destroyed" by the Civil War. Like Wilson and Osterweis, Nolan suggests that those who propagated the myth intended to preserve the honor of the South in the face of such total defeat.

If the South and its way of life was utterly destroyed the question arises as to what the Lost Cause was seeking to conserve. In essence, the Southern lifeway was not utterly destroyed but rather temporarily replaced by another (Woodward 1974:5). The Old South, characterized by racial slavery ended in 1865 and was replaced by twelve years of Reconstruction. Reconstruction "had behind it all the authority and confidence of a victorious North, a Constitution newly revised by the victors, and the force of the national army" (Woodward 1974:5). "Yet this new order disappeared even more swiftly than its predecessor and was in turn replaced by a third..." (Woodward 1974:5). "The phase that began in 1877 was inaugurated by the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, the abandonment of the Negro as a ward of the nation, the giving up of the attempt to guarantee the

freedman his civil and political equality, and the acquiescence of the rest of the country in the South's demand that the whole problem be left to the disposition of the dominant Southern white people" (Woodward 1974:6). According to Woodward (1974:5) the factor that distinguished "one order from another … has been the relation between the races, or more particularly the status of the Negro." During Woodward's third phase of Southern history, segregation statutes commonly called 'Jim Crow' laws served as "a constant reminder of his [Negro] inferior position" (Woodward 1974:5). These are, according to Woodward (1974:5), the most elaborate and formal expression of sovereign white opinion upon the subject." Still it appears that there was little left to preserve. The Southern population had quite effectively circumvented the issue of racial equality with the imposition of Jim Crow. Not until the World War I did the South face many overt challenges to its newly revised system. This war ushered in a new sense of power to the African-American population of the United States and the system of Jim Crow was openly challenged as African-Americans, who fought for the democracy of the United States, began to call for a "restoration of their rights" and demonstrated "a new militancy in demanding first-class citizenship" (Woodward 1974:114). The Lost Cause appears to have served as a rallying point when the legal system of the South began to falter as a means of social control.

In general then, the Lost Cause can be viewed as a reactionary social movement designed to "preserve status quo or to revive past social patterns" (Macionas 2005:611). In fact Wilson (1980:7) goes so far as to suggest that the

Lost Cause was "a war of ideas," an ideological battle to preserve Southern identity. In order to fully appreciate the scope of this ideological battle one must grasp its central tenants, the methods with which the battle was waged, and those responsible for its propagation.

In *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History,* Alan Nolan (2000:11-34) sketches what he considers to be the "anatomy of the myth" as commonly reiterated by proponents of the Lost Cause. The central tenants of the myth include, but are not limited to, a general idealization of the South with a focus on the Confederate dead and the premise that the Confederacy had seceded to protect its rights. As a result the cultural losses of the war were mythologized.

Nolan (2000:17) views the Lost Cause as an attempt to idealize the Confederacy. In the South the Confederacy was viewed as culturally superior to the Union. In general the idealized South was populated by "happy slaves and gentle and indulgent masters" (Nolan 2000:17). Thus forming a cohesive cultural unit, the population of the South, from planters to poor whites to slaves, was "united in the defense of the South's humane, superior culture" (Nolan 2000:17).

Given the above discussion, many proponents of the Lost Cause offered their own interpretation on the nature of the slaves and slavery. Many were intent on popularizing the notion that "the slaves liked their status" (Nolan 2000:16). Viewed as such, stereotypes of the "faithful slave" and the "happy darky" were widely disseminated in the politics, religion, and literature of the South, indeed of the entire country (Nolan 2000:16).

Another central component of the myth is the idea that the Confederate states were simply exercising their constitutional right to withdrawal from a government that they had willingly joined. As such, the act of secession was viewed neither as "rebellion or revolution" (Nolan 2000:18), but as a right. Following this logic, one cannot refer to those who fought for the Confederacy as either "rebels or traitors" (Nolan 2000:18). The favored interpretation is that soldiers died heroically to maintain the rights of the population.

As a result the Confederate soldier is generally described as some combination of the following characteristics: heroic, tireless, and law-abiding (Nolan 2000:17). Of course this description would apply to many soldiers both Confederate and Union, but cannot, perforce, be applied to the entire cohort of soldiers. Nolan's interpretation simply relies on the premise that idealization and mythologizing about the soldiers themselves was an integral component of the myth.

The soldiers that were especially useful in this ideological battle were those who had died as a result of the Civil War (Neff 2005:144; Wilson 1980:10-11). Places of interment for these soldiers, like the soldiers themselves, were mythologized by both the North and the South. Though other locations of historical importance were also utilized, it is these sites that are the main battlefield for the new "war of ideas." The first blow was struck at Gettysburg. Abraham Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" marks the beginning of nationalist memorial efforts in the North (Faust 1995:24). This elite Union nationalist ideology which held that "these dead shall not have died in vain" said nothing of

Confederate soldiers and their fight to preserve the Confederate States of America (Neff 2005:111). Indeed, the United States embarked on a campaign of construction of national cemeteries and took steps to ensure "no Confederates who died while under arms opposing the Union were interred in any of the national cemeteries" (Neff 2005:132). These insults to the Confederate dead gave impetus to "Southern efforts to codify a particular interpretation of the war necessarily beginning with their dead" (Neff 2005:144). Like Northern efforts of interpretation, the Southern cause came to be represented in "monument, myth, and ritual" (Neff 2005:141). Charles Wilson (1980:30) also sees similarities in the Northern and Southern efforts to memorialize their dead, while stressing the important differences in origin and symbolic content. This varying symbolic content in the Southern rites is integral to what Gaines Foster (1986:44) views as sincere expressions of attitudes and sentiments. Large crowds attended the memorial rites, placing themselves in the Confederate ranks for this new battle (Foster 1986:45).

Those responsible for the commemorative rites in both the North and the South were engaged in a very real political process. In the North the government organized the rituals and monumental construction. In the South, a region which had suffered military and political defeat, "the duty of commemoration fell … to those whom society considered politically irrelevant—women" (Neff 2005:146).

Leeann Whites (2005) details how organizations of women sprang up in the South to care for the memories of the Confederate dead. According to Whites (2005:86), "it was in the context of wartime hospital and nursing work that

Confederate women first took up the task of caring for the Confederate dead." After the war, the women of the South continued their efforts because "there was no nation [to tend to such things], so the domestic tie between these women and their lost men bore the weight of that political burden" (Whites 2005:88-89). These women did more, however, than care for the dead, they were actively engaged in rebuilding the honor of Southern men "in the face of their defeat in relation to northern men and the southern freedpeople" (Whites 2005:90). Southern white women "turned their postwar public empowerment toward undergirding a social construction of white manhood that had otherwise lost its material moorings with the emancipation of the slaves and the economic devastation of the war" (Whites 2005:91). Gaines Foster (1986:115) further suggests that many women's organizations held shaping and preserving "an understanding of history acceptable to most Southerners" as their principle task. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (2000:115) develops the notion that white Southern women were the "architects of whites' historical memory" in the South. Brundage (2000:116) views the prominent role of women in mortuary rituals in the post-bellum South as a natural evolution from the prominent role of women in the mourning rites of the Victorian era. Brundage (2000:115,117) proposes that these groups of women took on the task of "explaining and mystifying" the past with an eye to "the perpetuation of social and political hierarchies." Indeed, Osterweis (1973:101) suggests that one such group, the UDC, became so skilled at this task that their memorialization efforts throughout the South played a key role in the "restoration of its antebellum social order almost in its original form."

They sought to regain social control (Neff 2005:166-167). However, these local groups of women operated at a political and economic disadvantage compared to similar efforts by the United States government, resulting in a localized and "diffuse" effort at memorialization (Neff 2005:158). As a result these groups, particularly the UDC, had to wage their war with some subtlety. Hence, their efforts contain elements of both reconciliation and opposition to the United States (Neff 2005).

It is clear that the UDC spearheaded a conservative political and social movement in the former Confederacy that became known as the Lost Cause. They attempted through mythologizing the past and marking places of historical importance to the Lost Cause, to maintain some semblance of the traditional culture of the Old South. It should also be noted that the Lost Cause, as espoused by the UDC, came to represent both reconciliation and opposition to the government of the United States.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy began in 1894 as an "outgrowth of many local memorial, monument, and Confederate home associations and auxiliaries to camps of United Confederate Veterans" (http://www.hqudc.org/). The primary stated objective of the UDC is the collection and preservation of "the material necessary for a truthful history of the War Between the States and to protect, preserve, and mark places made historic by Confederate valor" (http://www.hqudc.org/). Historically, the primary objective also included the correction of "the material necessary for a truthful history" (UDC 1939b:137). As

discussed previously, they were interested in mythologizing the past to present and preserve a palatable history of the Confederacy.

According to *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, the UDC is a group of self-professed "monument builders" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:49). They chose monumentation as their vehicle because they wished

> to tell of the glorious fight against the greatest odds a nation ever faced, that their [the Confederate dead] hallowed memory should never die. They knew monuments would speak more quickly, impressively, and lastingly to the eye than the written or printed word—attract more attention. (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:49)

Their history reveals that they went about this task with such zeal that they erected

> hundreds and hundreds of monuments, until now nearly every county seat in the South has its Confederate monument in its courthouse square, or on a prominent corner, or in a cemetery—a shrine, a great object lesson to our youth, telling the story of a glorious past, of heroic deeds and unfailing loyalty to a beloved cause. (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:49)

The history of their national organization discusses the erection of several key monuments and the intended meaning of these monuments. Though many monuments and memorials are discussed, the text focuses upon four monuments erected at places of historic importance to their cause (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:50-65). Admittedly, some of the monuments discussed below were erected

in places that are not interment sites, however, a discussion of their content and meaning is useful in understanding how the UDC utilized monuments and ritual activity to present their ideology to the public. A brief discussion of these monuments reveals many of the particular details of the Lost Cause discussed earlier.

On June 3, 1907, (what would have been the 99th birthday of Confederate President Jefferson Davis), the national reunion of the UDC unveiled a monument to Jefferson Davis at Richmond, Virginia, "beloved capital of the Southern Confederacy" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:50). The central column of the monument "carries a small, allegorical bronze statue, whose hand points to heaven, and beneath which is the motto of the Confederacy. Deo Vindice" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:51). The monument also contains an excerpt from Davis' farewell address to the United States Senate: "Not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit, but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited and which it is our duty to transmit unshorn to our children" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:51). The final inscription on this monument discussed in the UDC history extols the virtues of the man, Jefferson Davis. "When their cause was lost with dignity he faced defeat, with fortitude he endured imprisonment and suffering, with entire devotion he kept the faith" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:52).

This monument is a symbol of opposition to the Federal government. The statue atop the monument bears the inscription "Deo Vindice"—God Will

Vindicate. Put another way, the monument suggests that though the cause was lost, God will demonstrate the righteousness of the Confederacy and its way of life. Likewise the monument is intended to remind onlookers who sympathize with the Lost Cause that the central issue of the Civil War was one of rights, not any base economic motive. As discussed previously this assertion of the primacy of rights as a motive for secession is a basic tenet of the Lost Cause. Finally, the monument holds Jefferson Davis to be an exemplar of the Cause, as he "kept the faith" even when hope was lost. The monument explicitly states that the myth should be taught "unshorn to our children" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:51). The Jefferson Davis monument at Richmond, Virginia served as a focal point, used by the UDC, for communicating the righteousness of the Lost Cause. It also served as "a great object lesson" in the indefatigable nature of the myth (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:49). In their minds they were right and just, and God will ultimately demonstrate the veracity of their claim.

The monument erected on the battlefield at Shiloh on May 7, 1917, is also given considerable space in the UDC history, evincing its importance to their cause. Like the monument to Jefferson Davis in Richmond, but in a much more complex fashion, the Shiloh monument is allegorical. The UDC "did not want merely a battlefield monument, but a monument that would tell the story of Shiloh and have a special meaning in the South" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:54). As such, they erected a monument rife with symbolism, designed to impart that "special meaning" to those who gaze upon the monument. The monument is titled "Victory Defeated by Death," and the "large central bronze group . . . tells the

story of the battle" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:54). Victory is represented on the monument by "the figure of a woman, modeled by a beautiful Kentucky girl." She holds a laurel wreath:

> but her head is bowed because "Death," a hooded figure typifying the death of Albert Sidney Johnston in the first day's battle, has taken a firm hold of the laurel wreath to pull it away from the Confederacy. "Death" is reinforced by another hooded figure on the other side of "Victory," "Night," that had brought up General Buell's army that turned the second day's battle into the defeat of the Confederates. (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:54)

To reinforce the "special meaning" of the monument it was:

> so placed that in the right panel of heads connecting the bronze groups and chiseled in heroic size out of pure Georgia marble, the eager, spirited young soldiers are marching toward the Tennessee River just as the Confederates marched into battle . . . The other panel [on the other side of the monument, hence, facing south], with one head less, shows them coming out of the second day's battle, weary and worn, with heads drooping. (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:54)

The speech given at the dedication of the monument is also discussed. Here the UDC expressed openly the purpose of this monument:

> Though centuries shall march over it, still it will stand, for it is made of the substances from which the everlasting mountains are

> built. Its imperishable bronze, shaped in the molds of an artist's dream, speaks in the silent language of allegory. Its cold metal, touched by the hand of genius, stands forth in grand images of heroes; and the riven, courageous, immortal spirit of the great old South looks out from their changeless faces. To every Confederate soldier who yet lives, I may say, that here on this field at least, the women of the land you love have set up a lasting record of your glory. Your monument faces the monuments of that other brave band who fought you here, and together, under the banner of peace and unity, your monuments and theirs will carry your true and wondrous story to all the future. (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:56)

The Shiloh monument is rich in symbolism, evincing the subtlety and sophistication of the UDC methods. The monument is made from the very stone of the land therefore it may be viewed, metaphorically, as the land itself. The dedication speech leads the viewer to ponder the "riven . . . immortal spirit of the South" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:56). The viewer, then, is invited to consider the steel in the Confederate soldiers, and to emulate their fortitude.

While the dedication of the monument describes both opposition to and reconciliation with the Federal government, the dominant allegory of the monument is one of opposition. The UDC placed the monument so that it would stand in direct opposition to the foe, as the soldiers would have fought and died. Though the dedication suggests "peace and unity," the monument stands in

opposition "though the centuries shall march over it, still it will stand" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:56).

Another monument discussed in the UDC national history stands in Arlington National Cemetery. This monument is of particular importance because it marks the first time Confederate soldiers were interred in a national cemetery. The UDC credit President James McKinley with the idea for this monument (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:57). After McKinley had suggested that the North should share in the maintenance of Confederate graves, "a Confederate section was designated in the Arlington National Cemetery . . . and permission was given for the bodies of 267 Confederate soldiers buried in and near the city of Washington to be sought out and re-interred in this Confederate section" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:57). Secretary of War William Howard Taft, then in charge of national cemeteries, granted "permission to erect a Confederate monument in Arlington National Cemetery" with the caveat that the War Department "reserved the right . . . to supervise the monument and pass upon the inscriptions" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:58).

The monument consists of a woman representing the South. She wears a crown of "olive leaves, emblem of peace. In her left hand is a laurel wreath to crown her heroic fallen sons; her right hand rests upon a plow stock upon which lies a pruning hook" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:60). The frontpiece of the monument contains the following inscription taken from the Book of Isaiah: "They have beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:61). The monument was accepted by President

Woodrow Wilson at its unveiling, signifying reconciliation (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:60).

This monument, like those previously discussed, is multivalent. While it is overtly reconciliatory there are undercurrents of opposition here as well. Clearly, the monument is intended to demonstrate that the Confederacy is no more and that peace is at hand. However, the woman representing the Confederacy still carries a laurel wreath to crown the fallen soldiers. In defeat, they still envision victory. The Confederate memorial at Arlington serves to demonstrate another aspect of the issue of reconciliation. The official website of the cemetery explains:

> . . . though the good will created by reburial and re-marking was genuine, the Arlington experience also revealed the limits and complexities of sectional reconciliation. The dead were purposefully segregated within cemeteries, causation of the war was studiously ignored, and white Southern women refused to allow the government to interfere with their sacred trust in caring for Confederate graves in the South . . .
>
> (http://www.arlingtoncemtery.net/csa-mem.htm)

So, despite Federal oversight, and due to the same Federal oversight, one of the most overtly reconciliatory monuments the national organization of the UDC erected expresses the continued opposition of the North and the South.

One other memorial seems worthy of mention here as it speaks to what Nolan (2000:16) discussed regarding one central tenets of the Lost Cause: the

faithful slave/happy darky stereotype. In 1931 the U.D.C. erected "A Faithful Slave Memorial" at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:77). Said monument was expressly intended "to commemorate all faithful slaves" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:78). The monument is designed, more specifically, to tell the story of one Heyward Shepard, "an industrious and respected colored man . . . mortally wounded by John Brown's raiders" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:78). Shepard is intended to serve as an example of the compliance of slaves, though, as Poppenheim, et al. (1925:78) explain, he was actually a freedman employed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The U.D.C. state that "the negroes of this neighborhood, true to their Christian training, would have no part with those who offered pikes and staves for bloody massacre" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:78). They extend the memorialization beyond Shepard and "the negroes of this neighborhood" by including, per the inscription, the "thousands of negroes, who, under like temptation, throughout subsequent years of war, so conducted themselves that no stain was left upon a record which is the peculiar heritage of the American people and everlasting tribute to the best of both races" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:78). In the ideology of the Lost Cause espoused by the U.D.C., compliance with the Confederacy, either willfully or forcibly, became the "best" and highest achievement of the enslaved and the free African-American.

The UDC embarked upon a campaign of monumentation in order to facilitate the propagation of the Lost Cause ideology. The authors of the national history of the UDC end their discussion of their memorialization efforts by stating:

> it is this visible work—great monuments and memorials—that has brought to the organization publicity and acclaim. . . To all who run or ride or fly; to the learned and the ignorant; to the rich and the poor; to the high and the low; to friend and foe; they tell at once the Southern Confederacy is enshrined in the heart of the South. (Poppenheim, et al. 925:92)

The monuments discussed by Poppenheim, et al. (1925) are, however, only those erected by the national organization. Other monuments, erected by state and local divisions of the UDC as shrines and "great object lessons" dot the landscape of the former Confederacy (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:49). The monument that stands in the University of Mississippi cemetery is one such monument. While this particular monument is certainly not as rich in allegory as those discussed previously, it nonetheless functions in much the same fashion.

The monument that stands in the Confederate cemetery on the campus of the University of Mississippi is a fairly mundane granite obelisk. The bronze plaque on the monument contains a brief list of those thought to be interred in the cemetery and the seal of the Mississippi Division of the UDC. The central symbols on the seal are the Confederate battle flag and the phrase "Deo Vindice." Occasionally one sees smaller Confederate flags placed at the corners of the obelisk. Aside from these symbols, there is nothing particularly thought-provoking about the monument. Unlike the national monuments, which are often superficially reconciliatory, the University monument contains no hint of reconciliation. This should not be particularly surprising given that the University

of Mississippi has long associated itself with the former Confederacy (Upton 2002). The minutes of the UDC convention that erected the monument proved useful to our understanding of the intent of this particular monument.

The forty-third annual convention of the Mississippi Division of the UDC, May 2-4, 1939, was dedicated to "Our Confederates Who Made the Sacrifice at Oxford" (UDC 1939a:2). The minutes tell of the preparation that went into the convention. Many details concerning the business meetings of the group, dignitaries in attendance, and other efforts the group had undertaken for the cause are contained in the minutes. The important details lie, however, in the description of the ritual and speeches presented at the dedication of the monument.

Unlike the monument, the minutes do give some parsimonious evidence of reconciliation. For example, the minutes reveal that on several occasions during the three-day event the assembled crowd pledged allegiance to the United States flag and sang verses from the *Star-Spangled Banner* and *America the Beautiful*. However, these pledges and songs were always juxtaposed with pledges of allegiance to the state of Mississippi and the singing of *Dixie* (UDC 1939a:2; UDC 1939b:8, 38, 94). The Confederate flag was also saluted with "affection, reverence and undying remembrance" on at least two occasions (UDC 1939b:38, 94). Aside from these few examples, the minutes give little hint of reconciliation, and even these seem half-hearted.

The minutes contain drafts of several speeches given by the UDC over the three days of the convention. These speeches offer evidence of the oppositional

nature of this particular group and, hence, the intended nature of the monument in the University cemetery. The president of the local Albert Sidney Johnson chapter of the Mississippi UDC set the tone with her presidential address. She reminded the assembled crowd of their duty to "cherish the memory of every soldier . . . who carried a gun to save our Southland from a government whose interest and sympathy were no longer ours" and insisted upon vigilance in teaching the "truths of history" (UDC 1939b:37). She closed her speech by reminding those in attendance of their "sacred duty [to] Keep our hearts full to overflowing with love for the Confederacy" (UDC 1939b:38). She offered no discussion of reconciliation according to the minutes.

On the second day of the event, the assembled crowd participated in the "Ritual of the United Daughters of the Confederacy" (UDC 1939a:3). The ritual seems to have consisted of a monologue by the president and well-timed responses from the crowd. The ritual began with a prayer thanking God for ". . . the history of our country, and especially . . . for Confederate History" (UDC 1939b:8). Next, the chapter president instilled an appropriate sense of purpose in the crowd with the following lines:

> Daughters of the Confederacy, this day we are gathered together in the sight of God to strengthen the bonds that unite us together in the common cause, to renew the vows of loyalty to our sacred principles, to do homage to the memory of our gallant deeds unto the third and fourth generations. . . (UDC 1939b:8)

The chapter historian reinforced the president's message with the following lines:

> Our state, Mississippi, the Heart of the South will be the last, the very last to compromise her southern principles for material gain or political preferment . . . after us will come our sons and daughters and the very South itself will depend upon them, the South as we know it and hope to keep it . . . there are things not material, we must instill into the hearts of this generation, or else much that is fine and beautiful of the old South will be forgotten. (UDC 1939b:85)

The chapter president closed with a command: ". . . Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy, keep the political and social purity handed you by the very life-blood of your fathers" (UDC 1939b:86).

The actual dedication of the monument followed. It began with the University (i.e., Rebel) military units and band advancing the colors. The last flag to be advanced was an especially potent symbol—it was "a faded, tattered battle flag" which had seen service with General P.G.T. Beauregard and General Joseph E. Johnston. The honor guard for this particular flag, clad in Confederate gray, consisted of the last two surviving Confederate veterans of Lafayette County, Mississippi (UDC 1939b:94). Mrs. Calvin Brown presented the monument to the University with these words:

> [T]he Mississippi Daughters of the Confederacy offer this monument as an emblem of their hope that from here may go leaders for the state who are ever mindful of the high ideals of truth and courage and duty to which this stone will be forever a

> silent inspiration as it stands guard here over these dead. (Brown 1939:4)

Dr. Alfred Hume, Chancellor emeritus of the University of Mississippi, accepted the monument on behalf of the University. The program closed with the sounding of taps, drums sounding the march and the retirement of the colors (UDC 1939b:96). The convention adjourned for the year on the following day (UDC 1939b:95).

Parallels clearly exist between the national efforts of the UDC and the efforts of the Mississippi division and its local subsidiaries. The monuments erected by the national organization are generally more grandiose in scale and richer in allegory than those erected by the smaller groups. Still, a conservative social movement, couched in terms of reconciliation with and opposition to the United States government and referred to as the Lost Cause, was propagated in the former Confederacy. The Confederate cemetery on the campus of the University of Mississippi is a local articulation of the Lost Cause. The United Daughters of the Confederacy, organized by national, state, and local chapters, were the primary agents of the movement. They utilized a repertoire of monumentation and ritualized celebration at locations of historical and symbolic importance to instill the ideology of the Lost Cause across the length and breadth of the former Confederacy.

Chapter 4

Ideology and the Confederate Cemetery

The United Daughters of the Confederacy were engaged in a multidimensional process. They made it clear that they were attempting to hold on to some semblance of the past. In order to achieve this goal they marked symbolically important landscapes with monuments. Not only did they mark the land with allegorical monuments, but they also engaged in ritualized activity at those particular places. Their oft repeated purpose was to instill memories appropriate to those who lived after the fallen and to preserve the past. They attempted to impose or solidify the Lost Cause ideology.

The archaeological records of diverse cultures are often interpreted with the understanding that sites of mortuary activity marked by monuments are also the sites of ritualized behaviors. Taken together these activities demonstrably bolster or compete with regional ideologies and affect the social memories of a given society. Some explanation of how mortuary monumentation and ritual activity can have such a broad impact on the thought processes of a people is necessary in understanding how the UDC have propagated the Lost Cause.

Human beings modify their environment and imbue it with meaning. Archaeologists gain insights into past cultures by viewing the "landscape as a built environment, constructed cognitively, symbolically, and physically" (Silverman 2002:2-3). As such, a given landscape is "the focus of human interactions" that can be interpreted (Silverman 2002:3). In order to arrive at a reasonable explanation of the meanings attached to particular landscapes, one

must understand that "every place. . . 'arrives' at the present moment trailing long histories; histories of economics and politics, of gender, class and ethnicity; and histories, too, of the many different stories which have been told about all of these" (Silverman 2002:3). To achieve understanding one must delve into these historical details. Furthermore, places are seldom independent; they are connected to other places. Hence, "a national or even international context may have to be considered in order to achieve an adequate, multifaceted interpretation" (Silverman 2002:4). In researching the University's Confederate cemetery, for example, it was necessary to compare UDC practices with the practices of the United States government with regards to the national cemetery system and to consider the prevalence of UDC monumentation in the South.

The symbolism used in a particular place helps maintain or modify "social and cultural identities" (Silverman 2002:3). One of the primary methods of claiming landscapes, attaching meaning to them, and establishing or solidifying cultural identity, is curation of the dead (Cannon 2002:193; Pearson 1999:41; Silverman 2002:4). Cemeteries represent not only claims to territory and resources, but they also serve as repositories of memory (Cannon 2002:193; Silverman 2002:5). The forcefulness of the associated memory is often dependent upon geographic and temporal scales (Cannon 2002:192-193). For example, mortuary "practices designed solely to maintain personal memory and ease personal loss will be archaeologically evident in restricted spatial scale and limited duration" (Cannon 2002:192). The type of memory such sites evince could best be described as ephemeral. At wider geographic scales, however,

evidence often emerges concerning the widespread occurrence of particular symbols. Conversely, changes in symbolism are frequently detected at mortuary sites with a long history of use. Such widespread patterns of mortuary practice of sufficient time depth (be they patterns of stasis or change) demand consideration of a broader social meaning. This broader meaning of mortuary activity is generally associated with conceptions of agency and ideology (Silverman 2002:2). Indeed, "the design, construction, and use of cemeteries provide a very special perspective on the degree of isomorphism between social practice and ideology" (Silverman 2002:6). Social practice and ideology are, in a manner of speaking, mirror images of one another.

How the social practices and ideology of a culture are played out in a cemetery is a complex issue. Several recent archaeological interpretations are based on an understanding of "monumental architecture and landscape . . . as spatial representations that create, maintain, and modify social memory" (Cannon 2002:192). Cannon (2002:192) further states that "an emerging approach to the archaeology of death emphasizes the role of funeral and visual monuments as the focus of ritual performances . . . and highlights the role of performance and the landscape in the creation of memories, especially those that form collective social histories." Silverman (2002:5) also states that some recent studies of mortuary landscapes consider such sites of particular importance due to their function as sites of rituals "crucial in the sociopolitical life of the stratified societies that made them." According to Cannon (2002:192) social memory "must be defined and maintained through ritual actions such as processions and commemorative

ceremonies and through spatial representations such as cemeteries and mounds that are visible and meaningful to all for whom some sort of remembrance has relevance." Monumental architecture and ritual activity are requisite in shaping ideology.

The monuments erected by the UDC are explicitly designed to demonstrate that the values of the former Confederacy were still dear to many of its inhabitants (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:92). The monuments were intended to remain as "object lessons" in social norms and values (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:49). For example, the inscription on the monument to Jefferson Davis at Richmond, Virginia reiterates a key component of the Lost Cause ideology regarding the justification for secession: "Not in hostility to others . . . not even for our own pecuniary benefit, but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited" (Poppenheim et al. 1925:51). The inscriptions on monuments such as at Arlington reveal a public air of reconciliation, however the symbolism of the monuments often betrays continuing animosity, such as the Shiloh monument created to stand in opposition to the Federal monuments on that field "though centuries shall march over it" (Poppenheim, et al. 1925:26). This spirit of continued hostility is also evinced on many monuments erected by the UDC with the nearly ubiquitous phrase, "Deo Vindice"—God Will Vindicate.

Monumentation, as discussed by Cannon (2002:194), serves to "habituate onlookers to ancestral associations that serve the interests of the living" and also helps to retard the loss of social memory. In the context of mortuary monuments,

the monumentation becomes the "spatial representation of political power" (Cannon 2002:195). These sites "can be directly related to the processes of renegotiation of social and political structure through time" (Arnold 2002:132). The U.D.C. actively employ monumentation for these purposes. Still, monumentation alone may fail to achieve the desired goals. To help solidify the meanings attached to monumentation, the group responsible often relies on ritual action (Silverman 2002:194).

Ritual is defined in various ways by anthropologists. Furthermore, anthropologists recognize several distinct types of ritual activity. In general, a ritual is a purposeful event which is readily recognized by those involved as distinct from everyday activity (Tambiah 1985:126). One basic function of ritual is "the articulation of feelings . . . the ultimate product of which is not a simple emotion, but a complex permanent attitude." In short, rituals are "a disciplined rehearsal of 'right attitudes'" (Tambiah 1985:133-134).

As discussed in Chapter Three, the UDC engaged in a three-day ceremony at the University of Mississippi Confederate cemetery. The minutes from the ceremony discuss the nature of the rhetoric and symbolism used at this lengthy ritual performance. The speeches presented give the clearest evidence of the ideology they intended to instill upon the assembled crowd. For example, the chapter president reminded the assembly of their "sacred duty" to love the Confederacy (UDC 1939b:38). She also beseeched the crowd to "cherish the memory" of those who fought to preserve the Southern way of life (UDC 1939b:37). Furthermore, she stated that they had gathered to "strengthen the

bonds that unite us in the common cause" and "to renew the vows of loyalty to our sacred principles" (UDC 1939b:8). She then commanded the assembled crowd to "keep the political and social purity" of the Old South active (UDC 1939b:86). The chapter historian added, to reinforce the appropriate memory, that "Mississippi…will be the last, the very last to compromise her southern principles for material gain or political preferment" (UDC 1939b:85). To further illustrate the attitudes they sought to instill, the minutes reveal that the crowd saluted the Confederate flag with "affection, reverence, and undying remembrance" (UDC 1939b:38,94). The minutes report that they also pledged allegiance to the state of Mississippi (UDC 1939b: 8,38,94). It should be made clear that they also pledged allegiance to the United States flag. However, there was no reported affection, reverence or undying remembrance in this seemingly mechanical gesture. One is left with a clear sense that the crowd was exposed to three days of purposeful reinforcement of the Lost Cause ideology.

The particular rites practiced by the UDC at the University cemetery and elsewhere are best described as rites of intensification. According to Serena Nanda and Richard Warms (2004:387) rites of intensification "are rituals directed toward the welfare of the group or community." This type of rite affords a group "continuity with the past, enhances the feelings of social unity in the present, and renews sentiments on which cohesion depends" (Nanda and Warms 2004:387). The speeches from the University cemetery dedication ceremony reveal that those who participated felt strongly about their loss and longed for a revitalization of the past. The Southern way of life had been inextricably altered by the Civil War.

They wanted to reestablish the status quo of bygone days, or, at least, to protect themselves from the further erosion of their pre-eminence in the social system.

Monumentation and ritual action require planning and coordination. The implication concerning such activities is that someone is willfully directing such behavior in order to preserve or shape a particular meaning or ideology. Cannon (2002:194) suggests that "the desire to sustain social memory . . . allows . . . an elite segment of the population to enhance their prominence through direction of ritual performances and monumental construction."

The elite ideological construction is found in the national government's efforts at memorialization. The results of their efforts are carefully constructed national cemeteries with government oversight of who is interred and what symbolism is allowed on the monuments. The government controls, then, the meaning associated with soldiers who die serving the United States government. We, the populace, are to view those interred in our national cemeteries with reverence and gratitude, as they sacrificed their very being for the furtherance of our cultural ideals. They are intended to serve as object lessons in being American.

The Lost Cause is, according to historical evidence, a reaction to these elite efforts at ideological construction. For many years no efforts were made to incorporate Confederate soldiers into this ideology. As a result, a parallel movement, led by women, occurred in the former Confederacy to demonstrate that the Confederate soldiers' cause was an honorable and respected one.

The processes of monumentation and ritual action are integral aspects of each movement. Put another way, each group, has utilized the dead in order negotiate the status of both the dead and their descendents. More important than this however, is the result of these efforts, the imposition of an ideology on those who participate in the ritual actions associated with each of the groups.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The University of Mississippi Cemetery was established during the Civil War. It was utilized as a place of interment for both Confederate and Union soldiers who died while in hospital at the University. Shortly after the war, the Union soldiers were reportedly removed and re-interred in the Corinth National Cemetery (Government Printing Office 1869). The site of the cemetery apparently languished and fell into disrepair. Over time it appears that the markers once placed on the graves were destroyed. As a result of this loss and the passage of time the cemetery became known as the site of a mass grave or several trench burials (Austin 1978; Brown 1939). Ambiguities in historical documents have carried the confusion down through the years. The surveys conducted at the cemetery using remote-sensing equipment specifically designed to detect archaeological features indicates that there are probably no fewer than 432 grave shafts in the confines of the cemetery wall. Though the images produced were not ground-truthed using traditional archaeological techniques, it is perhaps safe to assume that some of the seven hundred reportedly buried here were removed to other places of interment. Excavations would be the only way to verify the actual number of soldiers that lie in the cemetery. However, there is no need whatsoever to excavate the site, so this question must remain unanswered, save what can be gleaned from documents. If carefully parsed the documents do seem to indicate that the cemetery is not a mass grave at all and that fact has been verified by our remote sensing research.

Not content to stand idly by while Union soldiers were removed to national cemeteries and incorporated into the national ideology of the United States, the women of the area joined together into the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter of the UDC and reclaimed the languishing cemetery as their own (Brown 1939). In so doing, they became incorporated into a widespread effort to memorialize the Confederacy. Like other divisions of the UDC these women erected a monument at a locally significant site of the Civil War and engaged in ritualized displays to inculcate the ideology of the Lost Cause (Poppenheim et al. 1925).

Though not nearly as rich in symbolic content as other monuments erected to memorialize various aspects of the Lost Cause ideology, the obelisk in the Ole Miss cemetery can be linked to these by virtue of the seal of the UDC and the phrase "Deo Vindice" which appear on many such monuments all across the former Confederacy. Moreover, the texts of various dedication rituals of the UDC reveal that the three day ceremony at the Ole Miss cemetery was used to articulate the ideology of the Lost Cause (Poppenheim, et al. 1925; Brown 1939).

Though the minutes of the Mississippi Division (UDC 1939b) do not overtly specify any particular racial agenda, they seem to have approached their task at the University Confederate cemetery with just such an agenda. The dedication minutes, as well as other reports concerning the cemetery, indicate that the major reason such a monument was needed at this particular location was that African-American laborers assigned the task of tending the cemetery pulled the markers and were unable to properly replace them (Austin 1978, Brown 1939,

Meredith 1966, Noe 1966, Ragsdale 1994, UDC 1939b). Hence, the places of individual interments were lost. This egregious "mistake" on the part of these local African-American laborers stands in direct opposition to the idealized African-American that the Lost Cause commemorated at Harper's Ferry (Poppenheim 1925:1978). Nearly all of the extant documents regarding the cemetery reiterate the negligence of the African-American laborers. One may infer from this that it was a major component of the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter's attempt to construct a local mythology that was congruent with the UDC ideological efforts at larger scales.

Archaeologists have only fairly recently begun to delve into the ideologies behind mortuary behaviors in cultures that lack written records. However, they have made great strides in interpreting mortuary sites with reference to the symbolism and ritual behaviors evinced in the archaeological record. In essence, they argue that mortuary symbols that occur over a broad geographic range and of some time depth can be interpreted as evidence of ideological / status negotiations between and among groups (Silverman and Small 2002).

If, for example, there is a relatively stable pattern to mortuary symbolism in a given population and/or region it may be interpreted as a relatively stable society as far as status within the group goes. However, if evidence of changing symbolism is discovered, it can frequently be interpreted as evidence of ideological change. As such, this interpretation may be extended to represent a change in the political structure of a given group. Evidence of ideological change in mortuary monuments is often related to changes in social structure. If a

mortuary assemblage remains fairly constant with respect to monumentation an interpretation of relative stability may be in order (Cannon 2002).

For archaeology, which generally prefers to rely on empirical evidence, these interpretations are often viewed with healthy skepticism. Many archaeologists, it seems, believe that these interpretations verge on the fantastic because they frequently rely on a particular set of theoretical assumptions that are difficult to test. With this in mind, many have fallen back on ethnographic records to gain insights into the observed behaviors and recorded ideas to bolster their interpretations (Cannon 2002:191-192; Dillehay 1995). Many such ethno-archaeological interpretations seek to match these recorded issues to the archaeological record. This study has attempted to do much the same. Though no excavations were carried out, and specific documents regarding the Ole Miss cemetery are scant, the ones that do remain give a very clear picture as to the ideology behind this cemetery. However, to solidify this interpretation, it was necessary to demonstrate the connection between the historic practices of the people responsible for the construction of the monument—the UDC. It has hopefully become clear that this small local group of women was engaged in the same ideological contest that dozens of similar groups were engaged in throughout the South. Specifically, they set out to bolster the ideology of the Lost Cause in an attempt to maintain the political and social system that the United States had defeated with the occasional attempt to maintain political ties with the United States. In so doing they have left us with both archaeological and documentary evidence of their cause. Furthermore, the fact that the cemetery is

still maintained and has apparently not been reused since the Civil War indicates that the Lost Cause ideology is still operative at some level at this particular location. Though it is a relatively small cemetery, the University of Mississippi Confederate Cemetery, is an important part of the ideological fabric woven by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Appendix. The List of Confederate Dead on the Confederate Cemetery Monument at the University of Mississippi.*

Mississippi

39th	Co. A	Bass, H.C.	
39th	Co. A	McLenden, H.	
39th	Co. B	Elliot, B.H.	
39th	Co. D	Carren, T.R.	
39th	Co. D	Howell, Green	
39th	Co. D	Williams, Joseph W.	
39th	Co. D	Williamson, John V.	
39th	Co. F	Overby, James W.	
39th	Co. G	Clark, Thomas	
39th	Co. K	Harrison, Wm.	
39th	Co. K	Wallace, M.F.	
33rd	Co. B	Barfield, J.	
33rd	Co. C	Maxwell, L.W.	
33rd	Co. H	Bean, H.M.	
33rd	Co. L	Smith, J.H.	
37th Bt	Co. A	Franklin, F.H.	
37th	Co. D	Due, Abner	
35th	Co. A	Paine, J.R.	
35th	Co. E	Bearfood, Warren	
31st	Co. A	Davis, W.A.	
31st	Co. E	Barry, N.B.	
7th	Co. A	Clay, Henry	
7th	Co. A	Morris, Q.F.	
1st	Co. I	Manning, A.J.	
22nd	Co. D	Winkler, Jacob	
26th	Co. A	Bouland, A.H.	
State Troops (attached 4th MS)		Ferguson, Elias	November 31, 1862

Tennessee

3rd	Co. C	Jemison, F.M.	
3rd	Co. G	Stone, T.S.	
3rd	Co. H	Barber, E.T.	
33rd	Co. C	Jameson, A.R.	June 7, 1862
33rd	Co. C	Oliver, Q.M.	June 7, 1862
50th		Stillman, William	
50th	Co. D	Burrow, David	
51st		Davis, A.	
51st	Co. D	Davis, William	
55th	Co. D	Burrow, R.S.	
55th	Jones Co.	Keethley, J.	

TN Cavalry	7th Bt.	Mow, W.E.	
TN Cavalry	Co. D	Barr, W.H.	
2nd Bt	Co. F	Biffie, John Odom	
35th		Alexander, J. L.	
41st	Co. C	Allen J.W.	
44th	Co. E	Kimes, T.J.	
49th	Co. I	Hinnant, H.E.	
_____	Co. K	Walker, _____	

Alabama

1st	Co. A	Wells, W.F.	
1st	Co. C	Davenport, W.	
1st	Co. C	Dikes, G.W.	
1st	Co. C	Hughes, William W.	
1st		Williams, J.W.	
1st Bt	Co. B	Russell, A.H.	
42nd	Co. C	Westin, W.T.	
42nd	Co. D	Reid, W.T.	
42nd	Co. E	McKinney, W.D.	
42nd	Co. K	Salter, K.	
42nd		Dotson, W.C.	
25th	Co. B	Dorman, A.	
25th	Co. E	Caldwell, W.J.	
25th	Co. H	Dappin, B.H.	
4th	Co. __	Clark, N.	June 12, 1862
5th	Co. F	Johnson, J.R.	
14th	Co. F	Baker, L.R.	
21st		Kelly, M.	1862
28th	Co. C	Davis, L.M.	June 6, 1862
37th	Co. A	Nall, Merrill	

Louisiana

12th	Co. A	Briggs, D.	
12th	Co. C	Williams, R.J.	
12th	Co. I	Harrison, T.J.	
12th	Co. K	Curry, Thomas	
12th	Co. K	Harvey, Thomas W.	
17th	Co. D	Furlow, H.C.	
17th	Co. H	Stephison, S.T.	
25th		Briggs, W.	June 12, 1862
25th	Co. C	Sojourner, William W.	June 1862
3rd	Co. E	Sheffield, G.F.	
16th	Co. F	Blue, Daniel	
19th	Co. I	Farmer, B.F.	

Arkansas

17th	Co. C	Harmon, Gralston C.	
17th	Co. G	Warren, J.	June 1862
17th		Dean, Martin	
1st	Co. E	Phillips, Fielding T.	
1st Bt	Co. A	Whitehurst, W.E.	
2nd	Co. A	Hip, G.S.W.	
2nd	Co. C	Burchman, James	
3rd	Co. H	Thomas, Richard	
11th	Co. E	Burns, L.P.	
13th		Casper, A.	
19th	Co. E	Robbins, Jefferson	

Texas

2nd	Co. C	Haden, N.G.	
2nd	Co. H	Gilley, W.H.	June 14, 1862
3rd	Co. G	Stewart, A.J.	
9th		Boyd, G.W.	November 30,
1862			
Whitfield's TX Legion		Calvert, S.W.	
Waul's TX Bt		Larcon, Nathan	

Kentucky

2nd	Co. K	Noles, James, N.	
3rd	Co. E	Colley, A.W.	
7th	Co. I	Fisher, W.P.	
8th	Co. D	Hunter, C.	November 25,
1862			
	Co. B	Boulan, W.T.	

Missouri

3rd	Co. A	Bankstone, J.W.	
3rd	Co. G	Minter, T.J.	

State not given

Stewart's Artillery	Co. A	Anstem, A.J.	
Stewart's Artillery	Co. C	Bizet, Ovid	
Stewart's Artillery	Co. C	Bobillard, John	
Stewart's Artillery	Co.C	Major, Duplane	
Stewart's Battery		Anglass	
Waul's Legion	Co. C	Gompel, Frederic	

Waul's Legion	Co. D	Culwell, William	
Wauls's Legion	Co. F	Scarborough, P.L.	
Waul's Legion, 2nd Bt	Co. E	Schuman, H.	
Forrest's Cavalry	Co. E	Copeland, W.M.	
Forrest's Cavalry		Patterson, F.L.	June 16, 1862
Forrest Cavalry		Doran, Levy	
1st Confederate	Co. K	McKinney, S.A.	
1st Confederate		Harris, Benjamin	
1st Confederate Reg.		Parr, Joseph	
Blythe's Battalion	Co. E	Byupa, L.I.	
Blythe's Battalion		Chambers, H.W.	
Point Coupee Arty		Bergeron, A.	
Point Coupee Artillery		Morrison, P.	
Lundi's Artillery	Co. B	Perry, O.H.	
Outlaw's Battalion	Co. D	Divers, C.C.	
Wither's Battalion	Co. C	Rushing, H.	
Ward's Battalion	Co. A	Vaughn, J.N.	
2nd _____	Co. C	Hardin, James	
Cook, Chester			
Mitchell, A.L.			
Stingle, Harry			
Wade, Henry			June 20, 1862

* This list is an adaptation of the list on the monument and the cemetery records, reorganized by military unit (Skipwith 1978:155-159).

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